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Reviewing Stand

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What Does Puerto Rico Mean to Us?

A radio discussion over WGN and the Mutual Broadcasting System

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What Does Puerto Rico Mean to Us?

MR. McBURNEY: Our speakers today are Dr. Antonio Fernos, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico, elected representative of the Puerto Rican people in the United States Congress; Rexford Tugwell, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, and former Governor of Puerto Rico; Mary Proudfoot, of Oxford University, studying problems in the Caribbean; and Clarence F. Jones, Professor of Geography at Northwestern University, and Director of the Rural Land Classification Program in Puerto Rico.

I understand that a new constitution has been drafted for Puerto Rico and is now before Congress. Tell us a bit about that, Dr. Fernos, would you?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Yes, the people of Puerto Rico, under the law of 1950, which was to become effective if they accepted it—and they did accept it, by referendum—were authorized by Congress to organize themselves politically under a constitution of their own adoption.

Present Status

MR. McBURNEY: What is the present status of Puerto Rico? What has it been?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Puerto Rico is under U. S. sovereignty as a result of the Spanish-American war; and as to the present, we are under an organic act of Congress. Under that law Congress created a government for Puerto Rico.

MR. McBURNEY: I was going to ask: How will the new constitution change the conditions provided by this organic act to which you refer?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: The new constitution will create the government on the strength of the authority of the people of Puerto Rico themselves, instead of under delegated powers of Congress, in so far as local government is concerned. In so far as external government—what we call

“federal” in the states—it will continue to be federal, just the same as in a state of the Union.

MR. TUGWELL: And perhaps you ought to say, Dr. Fernos, how federal laws will continue to apply in Puerto Rico.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: That's right. They will apply in Puerto Rico just the same as they have up to the present, and just the same as they do in any state of the Union. In that sense we will be in the same position as a state.

Federal Agencies

MR. TUGWELL: And there will be federal courts in Puerto Rico.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Federal courts, and the same customs systems, the same coins, the same stamps.

MR. TUGWELL: And representatives of federal government departments.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Oh, federal agencies operate there exactly as they do in the United States.

MRS. PROUDFOOT: Will the Congressional veto on Puerto Rican legislation be retained?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Not a direct veto, but as we know, any state law is superseded by a federal law, and in Puerto Rico that is also the case.

MR. McBURNEY: How does this situation provided by the new constitution differ from statehood?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: We will be a state in so far as local matters are concerned. We will not be a state in so far as participation in national government is concerned.

MR. McBURNEY: Would you like to be a state?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Well, it's a great honor, but we simply can't afford it now.

MR. McBURNEY: What do you mean, you can't afford it?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: We could not undertake to come under the federal tax laws. We simple haven't got the resources (1) to contribute to the support of the federal government, and (2) to develop our own economy.

MR. McBURNEY: Is there a group in Puerto Rico interested in statehood?

'Statehood' Party

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: There is. There is a political party in Puerto Rico that has statehood as its main platform.

MR. McBURNEY: You'll forgive me for exploring the provisions of this new constitution a bit, and for directing most of my questions to you, Doctor, because I know you were chairman of the constitutional convention which produced this new constitution. I wanted to ask what provision is made for representatives of the federal government in Puerto Rico.

Now, Mr. Tugwell used to be Governor of Puerto Rico. What happens to his successors under your new constitution?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: When the Governor of Puerto Rico was appointed, he was both the head of the insular government of Puerto Rico and the representative of the federal administration there. Now we elect a governor, and technically he is still, in a way, a representative of the federal administration. Under the constitution he will not be that; he will be in the position of a state governor, just a head of the local administration. However, the federal government will have all its agencies there, just the same as in any state, and the federal government—or, let's say, the United States—will be represented there by its citizens.

MR. McBURNEY: Does anyone around the table take exception to this new provision? I'm thinking of the change in the status of the Governor of Puerto Rico. What would be your reaction to that, Mr. Tugwell?

MR. TUGWELL: I think that there is a theoretical difficulty which might

be pointed to, in that Puerto Rico is still not a state but that there is no representative of the federal government in Puerto Rico. However, this is a theoretical objection, and I might point out that under the law of 1948, which provided for an elective Governor, there was also provided a federal coordinator for Puerto Rico who was never appointed. The fact that he was never appointed may very well mean that it practically wasn't necessary to appoint him, so perhaps this is more a theoretical than a real difficulty.

MR. McBURNEY: Is this arrangement we are working out with Puerto Rico unique—the arrangement that you are discussing under this new constitution?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: It is unique. Puerto Rico is unique. (Laughter) Our status has been really different from any other.

MR. McBURNEY: Well, offhand, I can't think of any analogy for the kind of constitutional situation that you are proposing.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: That's right. It's really a Puerto Rican invention. We thought of a way out of a dilemma. We cannot expect to be a state, for the reasons I gave before. Separation from the United States, as the Philippines did, would be the ruin of Puerto Rico. We simply couldn't survive. And still we want to have all the rights and fundamental rights and freedoms of an American citizen. We are citizens. Therefore, we invented this formula.

Citizens of U. S.

MR. TUGWELL: I think it might be pointed out, Dr. Ferno, that probably our listeners all know that Puerto Ricans have been citizens of the United States since 1917, and this doesn't change that in any way.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: No way whatever.

MR. TUGWELL: They continue to be citizens of the United States.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: That's right.

MR. TUGWELL: That is one of the

steps in progress, of which this is simply another one.

MR. McBURNEY: This is going to be unkind, but would it be fair to say that you are seeking all the advantages of statehood without the disadvantages involved in federal taxes?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Well, I don't know that it is an advantage not to have two Senators, six Members of the House, and the vote for President. We don't have that.

MR. McBURNEY: That's a pretty good answer to my question.

Now today we are talking about the question, "What Does Puerto Rico Mean to Us?" What does Puerto Rico mean to us? What does it mean, militarily, Tugwell? You were down there during World War II.

Military Importance

MR. TUGWELL: Well, of course, in World War II, Puerto Rico was extremely important to the United States as a strategic point, and on the Island of Puerto Rico there were Naval, Air and Army bases of considerable extent.

Military strategy changes all the time, and it is very difficult to say under present circumstances what the situation is. Anyway, I wouldn't be able to tell, but I should say that Puerto Rico is still extremely important, and certainly the Air bases and Naval bases are being kept up.

It must also be remembered that the drafting, the application of the Selective Service Act to a population of 2,200,000 people is not an insignificant item. Puerto Ricans do serve in the American Army under the same conditions as other American citizens.

MR. JONES: Puerto Rico certainly was one of the main bases during the second world war for the protection of the Panama Canal. Submarine fleets operated out of Puerto Rico. Air Force planes and Naval vessels operated out of Puerto Rico to protect the lanes entering the Caribbean, and in addition, Puerto Rico was one of the stops in one of the main links for airplane transportation to Europe, particularly of units of the Air Force

in supplying planes and Air Force units to Western Europe.

MR. McBURNEY: Of course, however you may assess the military importance of the island, I would suggest that one way of assessing it is in terms of what it would look like if we had a hostile foreign power in possession. Might that not be a fair way of putting it?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: I think it would be. I think it is very important.

MRS. PROUDFOOT: Of course, that was one of the considerations which induced the United States to purchase the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917. At that time there was a possibility, I think, that the Germans would buy the Danes out, and rather than allow that to happen, the United States stepped in and took them over.

Wartime Occupation

MR. TUGWELL: Also, you might remember that during the last world war, when France and Holland were occupied by an enemy power, the United States and the other allies stepped in at once and occupied the Dutch and French possessions in the Caribbean, as a matter of necessity, so they wouldn't be occupied by an enemy power.

MR. McBURNEY: How far is Puerto Rico from our coast, Jones?

MR. JONES: It is about 800 miles from Miami.

MR. McBURNEY: How far from the Panama Canal? Roughly.

MR. JONES: Thirteen hundred miles, roughly.

MR. McBURNEY: What are the other islands? England has islands there, I take it.

MRS. PROUDFOOT: Yes, we have a string of islands. Jamaica and Trinidad are the largest of them, and then we have Barbados, the small Windward and Leeward Islands.

Incidentally, during World War II the United States built Air Force and Naval bases, too—on a good many of those islands, for strategic reasons.

MR. McBURNEY: Do we continue

those military establishments in Puerto Rico and these other islands?

MR. TUGWELL: Yes. The English and other island bases were taken under 99-year lease, which we still have. I think most of those are on a standby basis. Some of them are not; some of them are active. The bases in Puerto Rico are maintained.

MR. JONES: Several of the bases in the Lesser Antilles have been leased to commercial airlines. The United States maintains a large airfield on the northwestern tip of the island, a Naval base at San Juan, and several other military installations in various places on the island and Vieques.

MR. McBURNEY: How much of an economic asset is Puerto Rico to us, Jones?

MR. JONES: That is difficult to assess, but we handle more than nine-tenths of the overseas trade of Puerto Rico. In recent years that has totalled something like \$300,000,000 annually. We supply Puerto with 31 per cent of its total food imports—as of 1950. Rice, meats, diary products, wheat and fish are the leading food imports of the island.

MR. McBURNEY: What do we take from them, mainly—sugar, of course?

Exports

MR. JONES: We buy sugar. Sugar is the leading product which we purchase from Puerto Rico, and in 1950 sugar contributed 60 per cent to the exports of Puerto Rico. We also buy considerable quantities of tobacco, and in 1950 tobacco made up 6 per cent of the total exports. We buy most of the needlework goods from Puerto Rico; in 1950 they constituted 18 per cent of the total exports, or a total of \$43,000,000.

MR. McBURNEY: Is this a profitable trade in our terms, would you say?

MR. JONES: Yes.

MR. McBURNEY: How about the sugar?

MR. JONES: Of course, Puerto Rico is one of the fairly high-cost producers of sugar. However, even if we could get sugar elsewhere, at a lower cost,

we can't do it now, because of our sugar quota system.

MR. McBURNEY: Of course, the impression is abroad that we contribute rather substantially to the support of Puerto Rico. Is that a fact?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: May I reply to that in this way: Puerto Rico does not pay federal taxes. That is one. Number two, the government of Puerto Rico supports itself with its own income taxes. It doesn't get federal appropriations to run its expenses, except that state aid laws apply to Puerto Rico in most instances, and joint programs supported on a matching basis by the government of Puerto Rico and the federal government do take place in Puerto Rico as in any state. But outside of that, the expenses of the federal government in Puerto Rico are those to support its own federal agencies, especially—and the most important one—the defense establishment. The highest amount of money is spent there.

Branch Factories

MR. JONES: Another point in "What Does Puerto Rico Mean to Us?"—I'd like to point out that in the past ten years many United States' manufacturing plants have established branch factories in Puerto Rico.

MR. McBURNEY: Has American capital been invested there in any considerable extent, Dr. Ferno?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: You mean "continental capital."

MR. McBURNEY: Continental capital—I'll accept that qualification. (Laughter)

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: The foremost sugar mills in Puerto Rico are owned by mainland capital, in addition to many other industries. Of course, it is difficult now to say which is which; it is all together. Local as well as mainland capital get together and establish their own industries, or support the old ones.

MR. McBURNEY: Do you approve of this increasing industrialization?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Of course. Industrialization is the only hope of

Puerto Rico, since we have little land and many people, and the people increase and the land doesn't.

MR. TUGWELL: May I say just a word about that? Puerto Rico did establish, in 1942, an organization for the encouragement of industrialization, and this got considerable capital because Americans, during the war, very kindly drank a good deal of Puerto Rican rum.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: Which is very good rum. (Laughter)

MR. TUGWELL: It is very good rum. Those taxes were returned to Puerto Rico, and they enabled her to start on this program of industrialization which has gone on now for about ten years. It is really (it seems by now) establishing a kind of spiral for economic improvement, the kind we try to establish in all the underdeveloped areas with which we have contact. This was a very fortunate circumstance, but it seems to have succeeded very well up to now.

MR. McBURNEY: Mrs. Proudfoot, I won't ask you about the quality of the Puerto Rican rum.

MRS. PROUDFOOT: I should have come back at once with "Jamaican rum." (Laughter)

Population Problem

MR. McBURNEY: I would like to ask your opinion about this population problem. Dr. Feros says the land doesn't increase but the people do. Do you regard that as a serious problem in Puerto Rico?

MRS. PROUDFOOT: Well, I should say that it is one of the most serious problems in Puerto Rico, as it is in most of the neighboring islands. Of course, the big question is: What are the job opportunities created by the industrialization program and by other facets of the Puerto Rican Government's program? Can they keep pace with the increase in population?

MR. TUGWELL: Mr. McBurney, could I say just a word about that, in sort of a reply?

I think that depends a great deal on whether you think of Puerto Rico

as an isolated area in itself, or whether you think of it as we think of other American areas, as a part of a whole, the whole being the United States. If you think of it in that way, there are other parts of the United States where there is a high birth rate, too, and where a great deal of the population is exported to industrial centers.

Now, this happens to be rather exaggerated in the case of Puerto Rico at the present time, but I see no reason to think that this may not follow the same course that it has in other places. As the industrial spiral is established, and as employment is increased, and as the income increases, the birth rate will, in all probability, in my opinion, drop, so that the population problem, if given time, will tend to stabilize itself as it has in other places. The question is whether the new industrialization can establish itself fast enough to provide the income necessary for this course to be followed.

MR. McBURNEY: How dense is the population down there?

MR. JONES: In 1950 the average population density was 645 per square mile. More important, of course, is the density of about 1,700 per square mile of cultivated land.

Of course, the population of Puerto Rico is increasing at a rather rapid rate. As you know Puerto Rico has a very high birth rate, one of the highest in the Americas, and a very low death rate, which gives a high maximum of increase annually. It is estimated that the population of Puerto Rico in 1970 will be 3,000,000; it is now 2,200,000.

Agricultural Economy

MR. McBURNEY: I take it from what you people have said that you have essentially an agricultural economy, and that there is an earnest desire to increase the industrial development of the island.

MR. JONES: It has long been understood that agriculture is the basic economy of Puerto Rico. Back in 1920, agriculture supplied employment for 60 per cent of the total employed;

however, by 1950, that had decreased to 36 per cent. On the other hand, manufacturing, which employed 15 per cent in 1920, employed nearly 20 per cent in 1950. Services increased only slightly, but trade, on the other hand, increased from 6 per cent in 1920 to 15 per cent in 1950, and employment in government increased from less than 2 per cent in 1920 to more than 7 per cent in 1950.

MR. McBURNEY: Which would suggest that we are beginning to solve this problem.

MR. JONES: We certainly are broadening the base of employment in Puerto Rico.

MR. TUGWELL: Dean McBurney, may I just say one word, perhaps as an aside? I would like to emphasize the figure which was given, that Puerto Rico has one of the lowest death rates now in the world. I would just like to say, as an aside, that Dr. Fernos was Commissioner of Health for many years, and perhaps we might give him a little credit for that, along with D.D.T. and penicillin.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: That's right, if you keep it to the death rate. (Laughter)

MR. TUGWELL: He doesn't take any responsibility for the other.

MR. McBURNEY: You don't take credit for the birth rate, Doctor? (Laughter)

I was going to ask about the general standard of living in the island, and I can think of no one better to whom to direct the question than yourself, Doctor.

'Improved Standard of Living'

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: The standard of living in Puerto Rico, as compared with that of the mainland, is low—I mean for the average. If compared with other countries in the rest of the New World, it is not one of the lowest by any means, and it has improved greatly in the last ten or fifteen years, mostly in the last ten years.

Of course, Puerto Rico is a tropical island, and the necessities of life are different from those in a more tem-

perate zone. Housing, however, has been a great problem, and in that we have made a tremendous improvement lately; also in all sanitary conditions, communications, roads, et cetera.

MR. McBURNEY: Do you have a lot of poverty in the island?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: We have. Our average per capita income is lower than that of the lowest income state, and that is precisely what we want to overcome. As Governor Tugwell said, we hope that with the improvement in living conditions, with the higher standard of living, the birth rate will become lower as the death rate has become lower. Of course, the death rate is low now, compared to what it was ten or fifteen years ago, and there is always a lag in the reduction of the birth rate after the death rate has been lowered. We have to give time to that to happen.

Beauty

MR. TUGWELL: There is one other thing I wanted to say, not exactly following what Dr. Fernos said, but one of the things which is not too often mentioned in these discussions of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is a very beautiful and very salubrious place; it is one of the most beautiful places in the world, as a matter of fact.

It has a range of mountains in the center of the island which rise to above 4,000 feet, and the trade winds blow nearly all the time, making it an ideal vacation spot. I would say that one of the future assets of Puerto Rico is this very beauty, which will undoubtedly make it a great tourist attraction for Americans in the future, and, indeed, it is already becoming so. One of the operations of this Fomento Corporation—the development corporation of the administration which is interested in industrialization—has been to build up the tourist facilities.

There are now several very beautiful, luxurious hotels there, and there are going to be many hotels of a more middle-class sort which would accommodate ordinary tourists.

MR. McBURNEY: Well, you make it

sound very attractive, Mr. Tugwell.

MR. TUGWELL: I hope I do, because I think one of the things that we need and Puerto Rico needs is for more continental Americans to visit Puerto Rico and to find out for themselves, what the problems are and to see how nearly alike Puerto Ricans are to other American citizens. Sometimes they are thought of as being pretty far away and a little foreign, and it simply isn't true.

MR. JONES: Dr. McBurney, I would like to second what Dr. Tugwell has said. Puerto Rico certainly is a beautiful place.

MR. McBURNEY: I was going to ask Mrs. Proudfoot—while we were discussing some of the problems that the island faces—about a matter in which I know you are interested. That is the educational problem on the island. What do you find there?

'Vicious Circle'

MRS. PROUDFOOT: Well, of course, that is a tremendous difficulty in all the islands of the Caribbean. It is more than just a question of there not being enough schools, not enough teachers, and not enough equipment. Even when the children attend school, they have to go back to homes where in very many cases parents are illiterate and where there are no books or magazines, no radio or anything of that kind, and it is extremely difficult to retain literacy in those circumstances. In a way, it is a sort of vicious circle, because if the people are better educated, they are more valuable as human beings, and they are apt to produce more wealth. On the other hand, until more wealth is available, it is extremely difficult to find the means of providing a better education, and the problem really is how to break into that vicious circle.

MR. TUGWELL: I'd like to suggest again the utility of a return on the rum tax, which we got during the war. This enabled us really to break into that vicious circle for the first time in quite a large way, with the expansion of school facilities as well as other utilities, like the splendid water system which San Juan has

now developed, and which gives them water as good as Chicago has.

The school system has expanded, too. The problem is not nearly as urgent and crucial as it was ten years ago, although it is still a problem.

MRS. PROUDFOOT: What is the present percentage of illiterates in Puerto Rico?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: I would say about 25 per cent.

MR. TUGWELL: But that is not so important as knowing that the percentage is smaller among the lower age groups reached by the new educational facilities.

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: We should remember that fifty years ago we were in the reverse position. We did have about 75 per cent illiterates; now we only have 25 per cent.

Political Stability?

MR. McBURNEY: How stable is Puerto Rico politically, Dr. Fernos?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: We've never had a revolution.

MR. McBURNEY: Pardon me?

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: We've never had a revolution in our history, since the days of Ponce de Leon.

MR. McBURNEY: That's a neat way of answering the question. (Laughter)

DR. FERNOS-ISERN: However, we did have a small outbreak a few months ago in Puerto Rico, but it was the first. Of course, we hadn't had much experience.

MR. TUGWELL: May I say something about that which Dr. Fernos probably couldn't say so well, and perhaps I can?

That seemed to me to be best interpreted as a kind of last and perhaps despairing outbreak of a few rather sentimental Independentistas who found themselves losing their popular support to the more practical program of the Popular Party which is now in power. They thought that perhaps by making themselves martyrs by this violence. . . .

ANNOUNCER: I'm sorry, Mrs. Proudfoot and gentlemen, but our time is up.

Suggested Reading



Compiled by William Huff,
and M. Helen Perkins, Reference Department,
Dearing Library, Northwestern University.

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HATT, PAUL K. "Some Social and Psychological Aspects of Human Fertility in Puerto Rico." (In *Approaches to Problems of High Fertility in Agrarian Societies*.) New York, Milbank Memorial Fund, 1952.

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PERLOFF, HARVEY S. *Puerto Rico's Economic Future; A Study in Planned Development*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950.

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PETRULLO, VINCENZO. *Puerto Rican Paradox*. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1947.

An appraisal of the political, economic, and cultural problems of the Islanders.

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An illustrated pamphlet on the social, economic and political life of Puerto Rico. Includes a table of outstanding historical dates, statistics, and bibliography of materials in English and Spanish.

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The story of the struggles of Puerto Rico, written after the author had been governor of the Island for five years. Gives a record of his relations with Franklin D. Roosevelt.

American City 66:159, Dec., '51. "New Docking Facilities." V. R. COLON.

New industries in Puerto Rico acquire improved docking at Ponce, a port city serving eleven municipalities.

American Federationist 57:28-92, June, '50. "Report on Puerto Rico." L. HINES.

Information obtained from the officers of the Puerto Rican Free Federation of Workingmen about the unionization of workers in the Island.

Christian Century 68:805-6, July 4, '51; 1085, Sept. 19, '51; 1202, Oct. 17, '51; 1440-2, Dec. 12, '51. "News of the Christian World."

Brief articles on: the new constitution; construction progress, missions, p. 805-6; delegates to the constitutional convention, religious freedom, p. 1085; young people from mainland aid in world camps, religious freedom, p. 1202; the bill of rights for Puerto Rico's constitution, church-state separation, freedom of religion, migrant workers, p. 1440-42.

Colliers 129:20-3, Mar. 29, '52. "Operation Bootstrap." H. COHN.

A tremendous industrialization program is aimed at providing a decent standard of living for 2,200,000 Puerto Ricans.

Foreign Affairs 29:625-36, July, '51. "Population and Progress in Puerto Rico." K. DAVIS.

Describes the growth of the Populares Party, Governor Marin's plans for Puerto Rican economy, the work of the Industrial Development Company and the Government Development Bank, the growth of tourism, and the relation of the population to the economic outlook for the future.

Harper's Magazine 194:160-169, Feb., '47. "Puerto Rico's Bootstraps." R. G. TUGWELL and G. F. TUGWELL.

The battle behind the scenes and the story of the personal sacrifices which went into the change in Puerto Rico's economy.

New Statesman and Nation 41:556, 587, May 19-26, '51. "Puerto Rican Journey." J. Mac KENZIE.

Why Governor Marin called the Island the "lean and hungry cow fed by the American taxpayers in order to be milked by four large sugar corporations," and some of the steps already taken to try to correct the situation.

New York Times Magazine p. 10, Aug. 4, '46. "Puerto Rico Moves a Step Ahead." P. BLANSHARD.

An account by a former consultant of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission of what it meant to the people of Puerto Rico to have a native governor, and what the U.S. has tried to do about the Island's economic problems.

Phylon 10 no. 3:220-5, 1949. "Intergroup Relations in Puerto Rico." R. G. ARMSTRONG.

"The color line and its implications in economic and social affairs."

Puerto Rico. Dept. of Finance. Annual Report of the Treasurer of Puerto Rico. Fiscal Year 1949-1950. San Juan, Puerto Rico, Govt. Service Office—Printing Division, 1951.

Comments and statistics on the financial affairs of Puerto Rico.

Scholastic 60:14, Mar. 12, '52. "Caribbean Commonwealth."

A brief article on Puerto Rico's proposed constitution and the changes it would bring about in the Island's relations with the U.S.

Time 57:38, June 11, '51. "Toward a New Relationship."

Discusses briefly the types of status which Puerto Rico might acquire under its new constitution.

U. S. Dept. of State Bulletin 26:721-3, May 5, '52. "Approval Requested for Puerto Rican Constitution."

An analysis of the proposed Puerto Rican constitution as it relates to legislative, executive and judicial branches, a bill of rights, and the organic act of Puerto Rico.

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